



CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN DEBATES

Tuesday, 14th December, 1948

OFFICIAL REPORT

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Published by the Manager of Publications, Government of Pakistan, Karachi

Printed by the Asstt. Manager, Governor-General's Press, Pakistan, Karachi

1949

Price : Annas 5.

THE
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN DEBATES
**(Official Report of the Fourth Session of the Constituent
Assembly of Pakistan)**

Volume IV—1948

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Tuesday, the 14th December, 1948

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met in the Assembly Chamber Karachi, at Eleven of the Clock, being the First Day of the Fourth Session of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, Mr. Chairman (Dr. Omar Hayat Malik) in the Chair.

PRESENTATION OF CREDENTIALS AND SIGNING OF THE REGISTER

Mr. Kamini Kumar Datta (East Bengal : General).

Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nandy (East Bengal : General).

MEMBERS SWORN

Mr. Kamini Kumar Datta (East Bengal : General).

Mr. Bhabesh Chandra Nandy (East Bengal : General).

The Honourable Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal (East Bengal : General).

Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad (East Bengal : Muslim).

Mr. Ghayasuddin Pathan (East Bengal : Muslim).

The Honourable Mr. Mafizuddin Ahmad (East Bengal : Muslim).

Prof. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi (East Bengal : Muslim).

The Honourable Mr. Muhammad Habibullah Bahar (East Bengal : Muslim).

Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan (East Bengal : Muslim).

Moulavi Ebrahim Khan (East Bengal : Muslim).

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (West Punjab : Muslim).

**ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN**

Mr. Chairman : In compliance with the provisions of sub-rule (4) of Rule 8 of the Constituent Assembly Rules I have to announce to Honourable Members that nomination papers duly filled in in respect of two candidates for the Presidentship of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan were received by the Secretary up to 12 Noon on the 13th December, 1948. Since then one of the candidates has withdrawn. The names of the proposers and seconder of the other candidate, Mr. Tamizuddin Khan, are as follows :—

- | | |
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| Proposers | 1. The Honourable Mr. Mafizuddin Ahmad. |
| | 2. Moulavi Ebrahim Khan. |
| | 3. Mr. Abdul Martin Chaudhary. |
| | 4. Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan. |
| | 5. Prof. Raj Kumar Chakraverty. |
| | 6. Mr. Azizuddin Ahmad. |

[Mr. Chairman.]

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| Seconders | 1. The Honourable Mr. Muhammad Habibullah Bahar.
2. The Honourable Mr. Mafizuddin Ahmad.
3. Mr. Nur Ahmed.
4. Mr. Abul Kasem Khan.
5. Mr. Bhupendra Kumar Datta.
6. Maulana Mohammad Abdullah-el Baqui. |
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All these nomination papers are valid and as there is no other candidate, I hereby declare Mr. Tamizuddin Khan as the duly elected President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. I will now request the President-elect to come and occupy the Chair.

(Mr. Tamizuddin Khan was then escorted to the Chair by the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya.)

Mr. President (The Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) : Honourable Members, the Constituent Assembly will meet again at 11-30 A.M. today.

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan then adjourned till Half Past Eleven of the Clock.

The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan re-assembled at Half Past Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President (the Honourable Mr. Tamizuddin Khan) in the Chair.

The proceedings opened with a recitation of the Holy Quran by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani.

MOTION OF CONDOLENCE RE : DEATH OF QUAID-I-AZAM MOHAMMAD ALI JINNAH

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan (Leader of the House) : Mr. President, it is with a heavy heart that I rise to move the Resolution standing in my name. I beg to move, Sir :

" This Assembly places on record its sense of profound grief and sorrow at the death of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and offers its deepest condolence to the nation at its irreparable loss ;

This Assembly has the fullest confidence in the nation and trusts that it will bear the loss with fortitude and redouble its efforts to maintain the integrity and independence of Pakistan and work with ever-increasing zeal and determination for the welfare and prosperity of the country as the most befitting tribute to the memory of the departed leader ;

This Assembly further conveys its sympathy to Miss Fatimah Jinnah and other members of the bereaved family ."

Sir, it is indeed not possible to express adequately in words the long record of selfless service which the Quaid-i-Azam rendered to this Sub-Continent and to the nation. He occupied, as everyone knows, a very prominent place throughout his long political life of over 40 years. He was the greatest patriot and lover of freedom that any country could have. Throughout his life, his ambition was to see this Sub-Continent of India and Pakistan free from foreign domination. I can say, Mr. President, without any fear of contradiction that Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah is one of the greatest statesmen that the world has ever produced. It is not often that it falls to the lot of a man to create something out of nothing. It is not often that a man is the architect, the founder and builder of a State, which is the fifth largest in the world. As you know, Mr. President, the most glorious chapter of the Quaid-i-Azam's long political

life were the last twelve years of his existence on this earth. In 1936, he saw that freedom to this great Sub-Continent was coming but he believed in freedom for all and not freedom for any one section of the people and he also realised that the only way to achieve freedom for this Sub-Continent quickly was to provide opportunities for the two major nationalities, the Hindus and the Muslims, to develop themselves in accordance with their own way of life, their own culture and their own ideology. There are some who might think that this conception of Pakistan was based on communalism. I submit, Sir—and I think having had the honour and privilege of working with the Quaid-i-Azam in close association for over twelve years, I can claim to know his mind—he was not a communalist. He was one of the greatest nationalists that any country could produce but at the same time he was a man who could never see injustice done to any class of people or to any community and he realised and recognised that when freedom comes to this Sub-Continent it must be freedom for all the peoples living in this Sub-Continent. Sir, there were some people who thought that the Quaid-i-Azam's conception of Pakistan was only a dream. This dream became a fact because of the determination, courage, perseverance and sincerity of purpose of the Quaid-i-Azam. I have no doubt in my mind that, when the future history of this Sub-Continent comes to be written, it will be recognized that the solution for the so-called Indian problem was, in fact, no other than the creation of the two independent Sovereign States of India and Pakistan.

Sir, I can say that there was one thing which always made him fight and that was to see that no injustice was done. He was indeed the champion of all the suppressed and oppressed people and I can tell the minorities in Pakistan that the Quaid-i-Azam was the greatest friend that any minority could have, and I want to assure them that whatever promises, whatever declarations, the Quaid-i-Azam made during the time when he was the Head of the State, so long as the present Government is in power, it shall regard it as its sacred duty to fulfil those promises and see that justice is done to the minorities. Not only justice, Mr. President, but Quaid-i-Azam used to say 'not only justice but generosity'. I assure the minorities, with all the responsibility, that we shall do our best to see that they are treated accordingly. Sir, at this time, his death—of course every human being must die some time or other—but at this time, his death is indeed a grievous loss to the nation and to Pakistan. We are faced with many problems, difficult problems, and we needed his guidance most at this moment. We needed his courage, we needed his determination to see Pakistan well on the road to prosperity and progress. Sir, the only tribute—of course there will be memorials raised to the memory of Quaid-i-Azam—but I think the fittest tribute that a nation can pay to its leader is to carry on the work which he had begun. Quaid-i-Azam is no more with us; but his mission is with us and will always remain with us,—the mission of making Pakistan into one of the greatest nations of the world; the mission of seeing that Pakistan is run not for the good of a few but for the prosperity of its millions of people. That indeed, Mr. President, is the mission which Quaid-i-Azam had. And I have no doubt that the nation will carry on that mission and everyone of us, not only inside this House but outside, will make every contribution to see that the integrity and independence of Pakistan is maintained and that Pakistan becomes at the earliest possible moment one of the biggest, richest and most prosperous States of the world. That, Mr. President, is the only tribute that one could pay to the memory of this great man. Sir, I would request you to convey the sympathy of this House to Miss Fatimah Jinnah and other members of the Quaid-i-Azam's family. Their loss is great but they know that their grief is shared by millions and millions of people, not only in Pakistan but throughout the world. Sir, I would only say this: Quaid-i-Azam is dead but his mission is alive. **Quaid-i-Azam Zindabad.**

Mr. President : Motion moved.

"This Assembly places on record its sense of profound grief and sorrow at the death of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and offers its deepest condolence to the nation at its irreparable loss ;

This Assembly has the fullest confidence in the nation and trusts that it will bear the loss with fortitude and redouble its efforts to maintain the integrity and independence of Pakistan and work with ever increasing zeal and determination for the welfare and prosperity of the country as the most befitting tribute to the memory of the departed leader ;

This Assembly further conveys its sympathy to Miss Fatimah Jinnah and other members of the bereaved family."

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (Leader of the Opposition) : Mr. President, I, on behalf of myself and the members of the Congress Party here, fully and wholeheartedly support the Resolution moved by my esteemed friend, the Leader of the House. The news of the death of the Quaid-i-Azam was received by us—the President of this House and other members of the Delegation—when we were at Venice. We were away from Pakistan at that time. We did not expect such a news there. Really it was unexpected and it was a great shock to us.

Mr. President, I knew Quaid-i-Azam from a very long time. We were close associates ; we worked together in the Congress. You know there were parties in the Congress. We were members of the same party in the Congress. Therefore, I knew him very well. Even after partition—you know I was against partition—when I came here I had some discussions with him. He received me in the same way as he used to receive me when he was in the Congress. The last time I had a long discussion with him about the question of minorities and the administration of the State in Dacca when he visited that place. That was my last talk with him. I had only ten minutes' interview allotted, but it lasted about 45 minutes. I had great faith in him all along. There might have been political differences afterwards but I had great faith in him. I knew him to be a man having courage of his convictions and he was a statesman and whatever he understood he tried to carry it out. He was a man with strong determination. That was his character. You know that incident—Willingdon Memorial controversy in Bombay. He led the agitation against that memorial. It is true he was assaulted by the police but he defeated in that meeting the memorialists and, as far as I remember, the money that was collected for the Willingdon Memorial was spent for Jinnah Hall erected in Bombay in his honour. That was in 1918 or 1919.

It is true that he had his own ideal. Many persons had ideals, but they could not fulfil their ideals during their life-time—they had not the satisfaction of seeing the fulfilment of their ideals. It was Quaid-i-Azam who had the satisfaction of seeing his ideal fulfilled. That is one consolation ; but his death at this time is really an irreparable loss to the nation—Pakistan, which is an infant State. A man like him who is considered to be the Father of this Nation ought to have lived a few years more, at least to see it prosperous and strong, so that it may get its proper place in the comity of nations. We all want it strong. I do not say this here ; even in Europe, everywhere I told the people that we wanted Pakistan to be strong and prosperous so that it might get its proper place in the comity of nations.

As regards the minorities, I had a long discussion with him. I do not consider myself as a member of the minority community. I consider myself as one of seven crores of the citizens of Pakistan. (*Hear, hear.*) But there is still the question of minorities. In his inaugural meeting here he stated, a true statesman as he was, he realized, that this State of Pakistan, in order to be strong and prosperous, must be a State for all the people who lived in it and not for any particular community. We still remember his memorable Address which

he delivered in this Hall when he was elected President of this august Body that so far as this State was concerned, there were to be no Hindus or Muslims or Christians, that there would be no discrimination among the citizens of Pakistan on the ground of any religion, but all its citizens would have equal rights and privileges. So far as the minorities of Pakistan are concerned, we consider that noble utterance of Quaid-i-Azam as his last "will and testament" for the minorities and we shall always cherish it as our precious document. Now, his great mantle has fallen on you—the majority community—in Pakistan. Your love and respect for the Quaid-i-Azam, I know, is real and unbounded. I hope, I trust, I pray that you may be worthy of the great maker of the nation by following in his footsteps. The great nation of Pakistan is just in the making. Your and our responsibilities today have become all the greater now that Quaid-i-Azam is not amongst us to guide and lead us. Let the great State of Pakistan—a State of free people belonging to all communities—grow and prosper, with the co-operation of all, the majority and the minorities? That was his will and that was his mission.

When he was in Congress he was also a power there. On this melancholy occasion my mind goes back to the days when he worked with us shoulder to shoulder in the Congress Organisation and for the liberation of the 30 crores of the Indian people, both Hindus and Muslims. I still have a vivid recollection of his brilliant oratory, rare intelligence, his zeal and enthusiasm in the different sessions of the Congress and its Subjects Committees. Later on, unfortunately, he had his differences with the Congress and, therefore, he decided to work from a different platform. Even then I found him always a fighting and determined man. He wanted the freedom of the country. That he was a lover of the country there is no doubt at all in my mind. Really he was a great patriot. The Leader of the House has already said that when he gave out the idea of Pakistan not only his enemies, but even some of his friends considered it a dream so far as Pakistan is concerned, but afterwards all have found that he was a realist of all realists. Once he came to a decision he stuck to it with a determination and that was the result of his great statesmanship. Because there was such a determination, the Congress was compelled to accept the decision about division of India. And, though against the division, as loyal Congressmen, we accepted this division and the people who are living as citizens of Pakistan have accepted it loyally. We are ready to work hard to make the State prosperous and powerful. It must be with the joint efforts of all the people living in Pakistan. He got the Pakistan for which he worked wholeheartedly and during the later years of his life he made the utmost sacrifice of his time, energy and health and at last departed. He was younger to me, but no doubt aged. He ought to have lived a few years more for the sake of the country, for which his death is an irreparable loss. With these words, I fully support the Resolution and I wish to associate myself with the sympathy to the bereaved family and Miss Fatimah Jinnah. I wrote a letter of condolence to Miss Fatimah Jinnah from Venice, as also to Khwaja Nazimuddin. Also on behalf of our Delegation, we sent a letter of condolence.

Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani (East Bengal : Muslim) : *Mr. President, I consider myself fortunate to have the opportunity of expressing my feelings here while supporting the Condolence Resolution on the sad demise of the late Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The tragic death of Quaid-i-Azam was in my opinion an earthquake shock of greater intensity than that of Quetta or Bihar. But thank God that it has not done even the slightest damage to the grand monument that the Quaid-i-Azam had built. This clearly proves that he had laid the foundation of Pakistan deep and firm. Though many people just after his death began to have doubt about the very

* English translation of Urdu Speech.

[Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani.]

existence of Pakistan and thought that Pakistan was doomed to ruin after the death of Quaid-i-Azam, yet the very fact that their doubts and fears proved to be unreal shows that Quaid-i-Azam was a man of sterling merits and that he had laid the foundations of Pakistan on very sound principles. The Honourable Members of the House, particularly those who have worked with him for years together, know more than I do about his abilities and outstanding qualities, and I must say that now after his sad demise there is none who is not well aware of his achievements.

Few people in this world are fortunate enough to reap the fruits of their labour in the field of political revolution during their life. It so happens that not only the pioneers of a revolutionary movement have to bid good-bye to this world without achieving any result of their efforts but also generations after them have to pass away uncrowned with success. They are not fortunate enough either to taste the fruit of their labour themselves or to see others tasting them in their life-time. God Almighty blessed the late Quaid-i-Azam with success and he was able to see Pakistan strong and prosperous in his own life-time. History has rare examples of such fortunate men.

Today our Pakistan is one of the big States of the World. It is the fifth largest State in the World and is taken to be the biggest Islamic State, which has been brought into existence by the late Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, after getting the confidence of his people through his statesmanship, his firm determination, courage, perseverance, intellect and his constitutional efforts, after having his Nation with him. -

- People erect memorials generally after the death of their leaders. But this was not the case with Quaid-i-Azam. He himself has founded a grand monument, in the shape of Pakistan. The monument will *Insha Allah* remain till the very existence of this world. People, particularly Mussalmans, can never forget it. What I particularly wish to emphasize is this, that we generally start a movement with certain aims and objects in view and before we achieve success we have to pass through certain stages. Sometimes it so happens that after we reach our goal we forget the very aims and objects of our struggle. I, therefore, wish to point out that the aims and objects for which Pakistan was achieved by Quaid-i-Azam by the grace of God and with the co-operation of his people, must not be overlooked. The said aims and objects are well known to us all. The Pakistan movement had started with slogans and slogans alone. Nothing but slogans were raised and heard everywhere. The reason was that the All-India National Congress had declared that there were only two powers in India. On this the late Quaid-i-Azam raised his voice and declared that there was also a third party, that is, the All-India Muslim League. It was quite possible at that time to get us amalgamated with any of those powers. The unique service rendered by the Quaid-i-Azam was to get the Muslims recognized as a separate Nation. This Nation needed a Homeland, a centre, wherein it might secure its culture, its civilization and religious traditions and show such a tolerance and generosity that no minority could suspect that it was ruled over by an alien Nation. On the one hand, he got it established that Mussalmans were the third great party, while, on the other hand, he succeeded in getting a homeland, an independent and sovereign State for the Muslims, wherein, thank God, the members of minority are as much satisfied as the members of the majority community for whom the State has been achieved. Every one knows that the minorities of Pakistan as compared with those of other countries have no worries whatsoever. The Quaid-i-Azam, rather took special pains to inculcate the spirit of tolerance among the Mussalmans to such an extent that they are now sincerely endeavouring to see that every individual of every minority,

inhabiting Pakistan, enjoys the same satisfaction and the same peace of mind as the people of the majority community. To my mind this is a very great achievement of Quaid-i-Azam and *Insha Allah* we shall all follow the glorious path traversed by him. After his death, we have to run and develop this State on the above lines laid down by the Quaid-i-Azam. Thank God that his successors, his co-workers, and his friends are all united and one. These great leaders are prepared to face all eventualities. The passing away of our beloved Quaid-i-Azam was undoubtedly a grave catastrophe and we are extremely sorry on that account. It was by the grace of Allah that we emerged out of the said catastrophe safe and sound and we faced it with courage and fortitude. Let us hope that in future, too, the State of Pakistan will be a source of greater benefits for us.

Many powers of the world are at *cold war* with one another today and the future of the world appears to be very grim and gloomy. At present there is a war of different viewpoints and principles, which if analysed, are reduced to two main theories or movements, namely, that of Communism on the one side and Capitalism and Imperialism on the other. However, there is yet one more movement or theory, which we want to present to the world. This third principle is a *via media* between Communism and Capitalism. It was a great desire of the late Quaid-i-Azam to popularize the said *via media* to which he had also made a reference in his speech at the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan. I hope you have not forgotten that. I believe that we must popularize that middle course which alone can keep the equilibrium between the two extremes of Imperialism and Communism. The greatest duty of those who are responsible for the administration of Pakistan is that they must organize and popularize that middle course which the late Quaid-i-Azam so yearningly cherished, but could not have it fulfilled in his life-time.

We share the grief that has befallen his bereaved family, particularly Miss Fatimah Jinnah and his other relatives. I offer my condolence to them and to the Nation and support the Condolence Resolution. May God bless his soul with eternal peace.

Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan (East Bengal : Muslim): *Mr. President, at times, it so happens that though a person's heart is full of grief and sorrow, yet he cannot give expression to his feelings. The same is my condition at this moment. I realize that it would be destroying the salutary effect of the eloquent speeches delivered particularly by the Honourable the Prime Minister and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani, if I express my humble ideas after the said speeches. Nevertheless, it is essential to comply with the order. Hence I have stood up to remind you of a particular thing.

Our Prime Minister has observed and correctly too that we would and we should always keep in mind the assurances given by Quaid-i-Azam to the minorities and the declarations made by him regarding them and will do our best to fulfil them. But I wish to remind you of the pledges we gave to Quaid-i-Azam while laying the foundation of Pakistan. In the Delhi Convention and at the historic meeting at Bombay, wherein the resolution for direct action was passed and at many other places, our late Quaid, demonstrating with his fist and raising his forefinger towards heaven, had repeatedly said, "Muslims ! Be united like this, herein lies your salvation if you will work with unity, no power on earth will be able to harm you, but if you will go astray, remember, no power on earth will be able to save you from destruction."

We renewed that pledge again and again in the presence of Quaid-i-Azam. But today, in view of the circumstances, I have to say with regret that we are

[Maulana Mohammad Akram Khan.]

drifting away from this basic principle and from the pledge we had given to the Quaid-i-Azam. Undoubtedly lamentation to any extent over the demise of Quaid-i-Azam is justifiable. An Arab poet very truly observed :

Makana halaka la-halaka wahid,

Wa lil-tahe bunyano gaumin tahaddama

"The death of this man was not the death of one individual ;

In fact it paralysed the whole Nation."

But the time for weeping, mourning, lamenting and elegising is over. Every one of us should now sincerely say before God whether he has any regard in his practical life for the model that Quaid-i-Azam set up by his sacrifice selflessness, fortitude, determination, farsightedness and extreme devotion to the cause, as well as for the pledges from his successors with which our Quaid-i-Azam left this world peacefully. If the Nation cannot have due regard for what the leader has left behind, the slogan of the 'Father of the Nation' is in vain. A sincere effort is never wasted. This is why the Conqueror of Spain survives even though Islam perished in Spain long ago. People today look on his successors and mourn over their misdeeds and negligence. Ahmed Shah Abdali came to India and passed away after making the country immune from all dangers. Undoubtedly, he was a great hero of the Indian History. But it is no use raising slogans in his memory. This will all the more prove the inability of the descendants. Similarly, Quaid-i-Azam is sure to win immortality in the history of the world. And as such there is no need of our raising any slogans. However the existence and survival or the ruination and destruction of the unparalleled legacy of Quaid-i-Azam of which we are the custodians and the invaluable heritage of Quaid-i-Azam of which we are the inheritors, depends upon our ability or inability. I am sorry to say that I do not see any hopeful signs. I do some work in my own province, I read various newspapers, I see friends, I come to know of news from different parts of the country. On the basis of all this I gather that the successors of Quaid-i-Azam should now readily begin to guide the nation according to the will of Quaid-i-Azam and the ideal of Islam. Otherwise God knows what will be the end of this beginning. Let us take care of ourselves and give up the wailing for Quaid-i-Azam. He as I have already said, is sure to win immortality by dint of his virtuous deeds.

Hargiz na meerad aankay dil ash zind q shud ba ishq,

Sabt ast bar jareedae Aalam dawame ma.

'Never dies he whose heart is resuscitated with love,

Impress'd is our immortality on the face of the World.'

Mr. M. H. Gazder (Sind : Muslim) : Mr. President, I consider it a great fortune that I am asked to associate with this Condolence Resolution moved by the Leader of our Party. The Resolution in itself embodies two points of very great significance and importance. Before I deal with them, Sir, I want to say that we people of Sind, had special claim on Quaid-i-Azam. He was born here; he gave us the best lead at a time when the Muslim nation was in a very bad condition; we were divided, we had several organisations. He came to our help, he gave us guidance, he created a nation out of chaos and, Sir, it was Quaid-i-Azam and his efforts which had brought Sind the first instalment of freedom by its separation from Bombay Presidency. Then, Sir, I am very proud to say that it was in 1938 when first Muslim League Conference was held in Karachi that the principle of partition of India was accepted. Sir, the Honourable Member, Mr. Chattpadhyaya, the Leader of the Congress Group in this House, has borne testimony to the great independence and nationalism of our Leader, the Quaid-i-Azam. He has said that he was a great fighter for the independence of the country and in recognition of that spirit and very long service, the greatest organization of the country

then, the Congress named the Congress House in Bombay after his name. I do not think a greater tribute can be paid to him as a national leader. He was not a communalist at all but, Sir, having worked in that organisation he was sadly disappointed to see that that organization did not stand for the independence of the country as a whole but it stood for the independence of a particular section. And, Sir, it was after two years, that is, in 1936, that he took the lead of the Muslim League and in 1938 in Karachi he accepted our proposal for the partition of India.

Then, Sir, we are very proud that his remains have been kept eternally with us in Karachi where he was born.

Now, Sir, I would only submit that though the Resolution before the House is a very brief one, it lays down a very great guidance for the nation. What is the greatest tribute that we can pay to our departed Leader ? It is this that we should make Pakistan a very powerful, strong and prosperous nation, and that is what our Leader has proposed and told the nation. We should do everything possible to make this Pakistan, created by the Quaid-i-Azam, a permanent, powerful and a respected institution in the world. And to achieve that, what do we need at this stage ? Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani has told us that we are very fortunate that Quaid-i-Azam has left behind him a band of workers who are quite competent to uphold his policy. Sir, you might remember that when there was a false rumour in the battle of Ohad that the Holy Prophet was dead, God told the Musalmans : "The Prophet is a man and everybody has to die : are you going to walk back because he is dead ?" No, Sir, our nation is not going to walk back. Quaid-i-Azam, has left behind him very competent and powerful lieutenants, who have fanatic zeal for Pakistan and we hope that, as time passes, Pakistan will become greater and greater. My only submission is that the Quaid-i-Azam's dictum, which he always preached to us, was unity, faith and discipline and should be before us for our guidance. At the present moment the nation needs unity at all costs. We must give up our differences and we must follow the guidance given by the Honourable Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan. We should be absolutely united and we should be a disciplined nation, and then it will be only a matter of time to enjoy the fruits of the gift that the Quaid-i-Azam gave us, Pakistan. Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad*.

The Honourable Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar (West Punjab : Muslim) : *Mr. President, Sir, the advent of Pakistan into the world as a Sovereign, Independent State, synchronised with the cropping up of seemingly insuperable difficulties and our country and nation had to undergo many trials. But the supreme trial was yet to come. While the nation was fighting against frightful odds under the inspiring leadership of the Quaid-i-Azam, it pleased the Almighty to bring us face to face with the acdest test any nation has yet undergone, and we were for ever deprived of the guidance, care and affection of the Father of our Nation.

The shock was so tremendous as to vibrate the unloving hearts with the hope and freeze the loving ones with the fear that the ship of the new State, left without its helmsman would founder. But they reckoned without the determination, tenacity and resilience of our people. They did not or could not appreciate the fact that with the Quaid-i-Azam Pakistan was not a mere slogan or an abstract ideal. On the contrary, he trained his people not only to demand and achieve Pakistan, but to hold it against the world. It is due to this spirit and the grace of God that Pakistan survived the shock even though it lacerated our hearts and pulled at the tenderest chords of our being.

[The Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar.]

Sir, the Quaid-i-Azam was among those rare personalities who are born once in centuries. The record of his achievement, his exploits, his services to the Muslim Nation and his untiring efforts to liberate the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent from the foreign yoke is so long and so glorious that it would be seeking the impossible even to glance at it in a few moments. He found many biographers in his life-time and would find many more after his death. He is too near his age to be judged fairly and dispassionately. A man, especially a practical politician, has during his life-time, admirers as well as detractors. But all controversies end in death. The passage of time takes out the sting of disapprobation and the personal elements of censure lose their substance. Only his achievements remain before the world and the historians of the time are in a position to judge the true value of what he did for his people and for humanity as a whole. It is my firm conviction that when the time comes and impartial historians, yet unborn, chronicle the events of the twentieth century, a personality will arrest their attention, a man head and shoulders above his contemporaries, the leaders and seers of the age and it is needless to state who that man will be. I am not paying the Quaid-i-Azam this tribute simply because I had the honour of being associated with him or because I sat at his feet for a number of years or because he was the head of the Pakistan State and our Quaid-i-Azam. Nothing of the sort, on the contrary, it is but a faint echo of the tributes paid to him during his life-time by his political opponents who were forced to acknowledge his greatness. Even his bitterest enemies, for whom the mere mention of Pakistan or the partition of India was anathema referred to his integrity from time to time in laudatory terms. They went to the extent of observing that if there was an incorruptible man in India, it was the Quaid-i-Azam. Some years back I happened to meet an American News-correspondent who observed that Mr. Jinnah's soaring to the supreme heights of Muslim leadership was a phenomenon he could not explain. I told the gentleman that his comments on the Quaid-i-Azam betrayed his ignorance and that if he had followed India's struggle for Independence, he could not fail to place the Quaid-i-Azam among the greatest leaders of United India. Time was when he was regarded as one of the leading lights of the Congress, but later events brought about a radical change in his views and he devoted his energies to effect the political renaissance of his Nation. And those signal services made him the supreme leader of the Muslim people. His pre-eminence lay in certain qualities which he possessed in an unbounded degree and which were the *sine qua non* of greatness. The Correspondent asked me which qualities I referred to. I said that among the Quaid-i-Azam's many qualities three were outstanding. Firstly, he was so shrewd that none could take him in, secondly, he yielded the palm to none in dauntlessness and indomitability and lastly, he was incorruptible. And it did not require a prophet to tell that a man gifted with those qualities was bound to lead countries and Nations. And what was more important, was the fact that unlike the case of some other leaders those qualities were not imported into him or boosted up by the Muslims or the Pakistanis ; they were acknowledged by friends and foes alike.

Sir, though the demise of the Quaid-i-Azam is a national calamity, yet we find solace in the accomplished fact that is called Pakistan, the grand creation of a grand personality. As Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan just observed, the Quaid-i-Azam's demand for Pakistan was not based on communal considerations, on the contrary, deep thinking and a dispassionate view of things had convinced him that the partition of India must precede its independence, as otherwise justice could not be done to all communities. His demand was vehemently opposed. The attitude of the majority community was quite understandable, but it is regrettable that some from among our own ranks joined our opponents.

The demand, however, was so just and so insistent that within the short period of six or seven years even our sworn enemies were forced to accept the principle enunciated by the Quaid-i-Azam and in that acceptance lay the independence of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. My friend, Mr. Chattopadhyaya, has remarked that the Quaid-i-Azam's determined attitude and firm resolve left the Congress with no alternative but to accept the partition of India. I agree that he had an iron will and exercised tremendous influence, but it was not his tenacity of purpose alone, which brought about the surrender of the Congress, it was the trend of the subsequent events which forced that august body to see reason, though after seven years. The Congress's acceptance of the principle of partition resulted in the independence of India only 2 months later. It was alleged that he was the biggest stumbling block in the way of India's freedom, but the fact was that the path the Quaid-i-Azam was showing was the only way to freedom. Sir, this reminds me of Faizi, a great Persian poet, who had thus reacted to certain allegations made against him :

Faizi az qaaflae kaaba rawan bairoon naist,

Eengadar hast ke az ma qadare dar paish ast.

" O pilgrims of the Haram, between us there is no difference of kind,

Only some seekers of truth go ahead, while others lag behind."

During the battle for Indian Independence the Quaid-i-Azam was always in the foremost ranks. But what distinguished him from his compeers was his incredible foresight. What he foresaw in 1940 dawned upon others 7 years later and they had to bow before the inevitable. If this realization of truth had come 7 years earlier what sorrows would have been spared and what catastrophes would have been averted.

Sir, Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Osmani just observed that the biggest memorial of the Quaid-i-Azam had been erected by the Quaid himself. Our utmost endeavours in that direction might result in the establishment of educational institutions, the constructions of mosques or the opening of libraries, but these memorials can never rival Pakistan, the biggest and the most abiding monument of the Quaid-i-Azam. I fully endorse Maulana Sahib's statement. The creation of Pakistan, the fifth largest State in the World, out of nothingness was the supreme achievement of the Quaid-i-Azam and few men have achieved more. And it needs no emphasis that the triumph of the Quaid-i-Azam owed not a little to the unbounded trust the Nation placed in him. Our opponents chose to call him a dictator. But they did not know what distinguished a beloved leader from a dictator. A dictator can at best rule bodies but the Quaid-i-Azam held sway over our hearts. If anybody doubted it, he must have stood disillusioned now. Today the Quaid is no longer among us, but the thunderous shouts of Quaid-i-Azam *Zindabad* still greet your ears in every street, lane or public meeting. This demonstrates the Nation's unbound-ed affection for him—a natural result of his selfless and untiring endeavours towards the political rejuvenation of his people.

Sir, we should thank God that Pakistan became an accomplished fact in the life-time of the Quaid-i-Azam. Here I may observe that some people regarded Pakistan as a fond dream. But, Sir, it was never a dream. When the Quaid-i-Azam made the demand for Pakistan, he was not running after a dream. Only those who could not see beyond their nose described it so. Whenever I met the Quaid-i-Azam, he assured me that sooner or later Pakistan would become a concrete reality. Sir, a few years back I was accompanying him to a certain destination. At every place he visited on the way, he was greeted with resounding shouts of *Pakistan Zindabad*. Noticing this public enthusiasm he said to me, "Nishtar ! I do not know if Pakistan will materialise in my life-time. However that may be, my life or death is now immaterial, because I am convinced that the idea of Pakistan has taken so firm roots in the minds of the Mussalmans that the establishment of a separate Sovereign and

[The Hon'ble Sardar Abdur Rab Khan Nishtar.]

Independent Muslim State is only a matter of time. Pakistan is coming and nobody can resist it." I again stress—and there should be no misunderstanding on this point—that the Quaid-i-Azam never hugged a dream, he never advocated an abstract and unreal ideal in the hope that perchance it might one day be translated into reality. He knew that Pakistan was the only way of unravelling the tangled Indian skein. If his solution had been gracefully accepted a few years earlier, all complications would easily have been resolved. But alas that was not to be. His stand was opposed tooth and nail, though ultimately his opponents—the majority community as a whole—had to admit that the partition of India was the only way out of the blind alley. Now what gave Muslims that signal victory over their immeasurably superior adversaries. They had neither the pen nor the sword. They lagged behind in education, in wealth and in enterprise. They were neophytes in the art of propaganda. In short they possessed no material force with which to compel the Congress or the British Government to see reason. What came to their succour was the irresistible reasoning power and argumentative skill of the Quaid-i-Azam, who with his sledge-hammer arguments made all concerned to acknowledge the inevitability of partition. And with that acknowledgement came freedom.

Sir, today we can no longer seek the Quaid-i-Azam's personal guidance but his life is before us and it is a beacon-light not only for us but for the coming generations too. As has been said, the life of a great man serves as a guide for others and those who study it and mould their life accordingly go from strength to strength. In serving their country and nation they always take their inspiration from that great example.

Sir, the Quaid-i-Azam's life is the best model available to us in the present age and it is a matter of great gratification that our nation is not unmindful of that fact. No people is composed of angels. Good and evil is always intermixed, but I am conscious that the teachings of the great departed leader are not lost on the nation and it is my conviction that the Muslims will never forget the lesson taught by him. If we follow his lead faithfully and act upon the principles advocated by him I am sure that Pakistan will reach the goal he desired it to attain.

Sir, Mr. Gazder has observed that Karachi has the unique privilege and honour of providing a sepulchre to the Quaid-i-Azam. I agree with him. The soil of Karachi is consecrated by offering the final place of rest to such a great man. Everytime people visit his grave, they shall voice the idea expressed by Hafiz thus :—

*Ba zameenay ke nishanay kafay paayay to bood,
Salha sajdae sahib nazaran khwahad bood.*

"The ground with the impress of your feet, however light,
Shall form a sanctuary for those gifted with insight."

Sardar Shaukat Hyat Khan (West Punjab : Muslim) : *Sir, this is an occasion of extreme sorrow that the Assembly is mourning the loss of that person who was its very creator as well as its builder. Although I am aware that the condolence resolution is a token of sympathy and also shows how much close the movers held the deceased to their hearts and respected him, yet, I realize that the true sentiments of love and devotion the people have cherished for the Father of the Nation, can neither faithfully be expressed through the wording of resolution, nor by any speech. The untimely death of our Quaid-i-Azam is an event so tremendously pungent that no amount of thinking and lamenting can be enough to serve the purpose.

We are our own sympathisers and our tearful eyes, mournful heart and condoling tongue are to pacify no others except ourselves. This Constituent

Assembly of Pakistan concluded representing all sections has met today to mourn and condole the loss of the Father of the Nation as well as of the country. It is not an easy task to mourn over the death of a father and particularly over that of a Father like the Quaid-i-Azam by delivering speeches or by merely passing resolutions.

Today Pakistan is like an orphan and this catastrophic event has broken the hearts of all the Pakistanis. We have today no power, and feel dumb and speechless to open our minds, distracted with deepest sorrows and poignant pains.

In my opinion if we want to show our love and devotion to Quaid-i-Azam and to prove before the world as to how much we respected and venerated him, it cannot be simply through passing a condolence resolution. We should rather resolve and determine to follow the Quaid-i-Azam in his footsteps. We, the Pakistanis, should try to show through our action that the plant of Pakistan which was implanted by the Quaid-i-Azam, can never wither away but shall always flourish.

I for one cannot express how extremely grieved I am because the Quaid-i-Azam treated me like a child ; he used to explain to me, guide me and tell me the way how to lead a nation to the highest pinnacle of glory in the world.

As for myself I am of opinion that it was the august personality of Quaid-i-Azam who infused a spirit into the dead body of the Punjab. I can assure you, Sir, that *Insha Allah* Pakistan will exist as long as there remains even the last child of the Punjab and so long as Pakistan will exist the Quaid-i-Azam will live.

Mr. Nazir Ahmad Khan (West Punjab : Muslim) : Mr. President, Sir, this is the first time we are meeting after the Quaid-i-Azam's demise on the 11th September and it is very difficult for me to give full expression to our thoughts of sorrow at the great catastrophe that has overtaken all of us. Quaid-i-Azam was not only the founder of Pakistan but, as has been often repeated, he was the one man who laid those foundations in a very able manner. He was the architect and the builder and as such any homage that this Assembly of the whole Pakistani nation may offer to the memory of our Great Leader must always be inadequate. He was one of the greatest international figures of modern times. When a British author, Beverly Nichols, called the Quaid-i-Azam as the "greatest man of Asia", there were doubting voices raised on all sides but he himself proved that he was not only the greatest man of Asia but he was the *greatest man of the modern world*. He was, to quote an anonymous friend, a field marshal amongst privates. He was the "hero" of Carlyle, the "super-man" of Nietzsche and above all he was the *Marde Momin* (Man of Faith) of Islam—

"Nigah-e-mard-e-momin se badal jati hain taqdir-e"

"The least effort of the Man of Faith can change the course of Destiny."

And he proved to the world that one man, who had faith in Him, could change the whole destiny of this Sub-Continent.

Now, Sir, that voice, that guiding intellect, that frail figure, but that towering personality, is not amongst us. It is surely one of the greatest calamities that can befall a nation, especially a young nation like ours. For a time people thought that the avalanche of grief that the Quaid-i-Azam's demise had ushered in was going to overwhelm Pakistan and the Pakistani nation, but out of that grief—out of that intense grief—there arose a feeling of determination and a feeling of fresh dedication of ourselves to the service and to the glory of Pakistan. This

[Mr. Nazir Ahmad Khan.]

miracle that we have witnessed after the fateful demise of our great Quaid-i-Azam is by itself a proof positive of the fact that Pakistan is going to live and to live as one of the respectable nations of the world.

Sir, in this Resolution a message has been given by this Assembly to the nation. I personally believe that if we are going to shed away all formalities, such a message is really not necessary. Of course, it is our duty to pass a formal Resolution and we are doing so on the first opportunity that we are meeting after Quaid-i-Azam's demise, but if you look into the heart of the common man—the man in the street in Pakistan—I can assure you, Sir, that he has got the same feeling about Pakistan as any of its leaders. That is, I venture to say, another clear proof of the greatness of our departed Leader that although he is not amongst us, yet the nation—the ordinary man or woman of the nation—is feeling the same inspiration of service to Pakistan as Quaid-i-Azam wished every one of us to do. I hope, Sir, the Honourable Members of this House remember what Quaid-i-Azam said about Pakistan. He said Pakistan had been achieved to serve it, not to exploit it. Now, Sir, while we are sending this message to the bereaved nation, of which we are all members, let us do a bit of heart-searching. Are we really sincere about our message? Are we really sincere about the appeal that we are issuing today to the nation?

Well, Sir, the great merit that the Quaid-i-Azam possessed—and he had many merits indeed—was that he had a burning sincerity. He had faith in himself, faith in the destiny of his nation and country and faith in God, but he had also, along with this faith, a burning sincerity that is difficult to find amongst even those great men who are known to be great men of the modern times. If we are sincere in issuing this message to the nation, as I say, let us do a little bit of heart-searching. Have we provided food to the common man, clothes, houses, arranged for his education, given him decent standards of sanitation or health and made him feel secure in his future? I am prepared to admit that we have done our best or we claim to have done our best, but I am sure that the speed at which we are progressing is very slow and I am pretty sure that Quaid-i-Azam, had he been amongst us today, would not have been satisfied with all that we claim to have done for the nation. Of course, the nation is, as I have just said, with the leaders and with the Government, but if you want it to re-act and re-act fully the nation must have all these things which I have just now mentioned, because I know that there is a great deal of disturbing voices in Pakistan with regard to the matters I have adverted to and the sooner these voices are drowned—not by coercion but by providing those facilities which the people are clamouring for—the better it would be for Pakistan.

Sir, before I conclude, may I just repeat a verse from Iqbal, because I believe that as Iqbal was a philosopher-poet, he was also a seer and he clearly saw the coming of a man of the type of our great Quaid-i-Azam and visualizing the advent of such a great man he said :

*"Umrha dar Kaaba-o butkhana me nalad hayat
Ta za bazm-i-ishq yak Dana-i-Raz ayad berun."*

“For generations people wail at their places of worship so that a SEER may appear from the ASSEMBLY OF LOVERS.”

That ‘Dana-i-Raz’ (the SEER) Sir, to my mind, was the great Quaid-i-Azam. With these words, Sir, I associate myself respectfully and humbly with what the Leader of the House has proposed and I am sure that the message that this Assembly is issuing to the nation today will be acted upon in the same spirit in which the Quaid-i-Azam would have us do.

Mr. M. A. Khuhro (Sind : Muslim) : Mr. President, I have the privilege—indeed an honour—to associate myself with the Resolution so ably moved by the Honourable the Leader of the House. Indeed Quaid-i-Azam was one of the greatest leaders that the world has produced and a Great Leader of his time. The present achievement of Pakistan—the biggest Muslim State in the world—was very largely and mainly due to his untiring efforts and his unique sincerity of purpose. He organised the Mussalmans of India and he gave them this ideal of Pakistan which we were fortunate to achieve during his life-time. I personally had the honour of being closely associated with him through the organisation of Muslim League for the last ten years, and for the last seven years I was a member of the Working Committee of the Muslim League. I knew him from close quarters that he had all the qualities that a great leader can possess, and must possess. He was able to think clearly at all difficult times and could carry his people on a right path. It was all due to his ability and sincerity of purpose that Mussalmans were able to get this Pakistan State and we should now do all our bit to see that we make this State strong and prove to the world that we are worthy of having such a State and it will be the only appropriate thing that we should do in the memory of our great Leader who has passed away. I need not take much time of the House as many speakers have already so ably expressed themselves on this Resolution and I also join my feeble voice in the sentiments expressed by them. I fully support the Resolution before the House.

Mr. President : I associate myself wholeheartedly with the Resolution placed before the Assembly by the Prime Minister and supported by all sections of the House. The debt we owe to Quaid-i-Azam can never be repaid. He was to Pakistan what no other political leader on earth had been to the same extent to his nation or country. He has left an example of leadership unsurpassed in the annals of the world. His uncanny foresight, ever-burning and unshakable faith in ultimate victory even in the midst of apparent all-pervading gloom, indomitable determination, unsurpassed courage, unceasing assiduity of application to the task in hand and his almost hypnotic power to carry the nation with him were qualities that made him tower, head and shoulders not only over his co-workers but almost all the contemporary statesmen of the world. The speed of his performance will ever remain a wonder. It will not be an exaggeration to say that in a brief period of ten years, almost like a magical feat, he raised a nation out of a rabble arrayed against itself in mutually warring groups,—a chaotic conglomeration of self-destructive forces, and led it to a spectacular victory. Of course, the Islamic background of the society in which he was destined to play his part helped him a good deal. In fact, it was his credit to discern the real worth of the material at his disposal lying hidden underneath the dark surface dross accumulated through the centuries. He undertook a vigorous cleansing campaign, consolidated it and gave it shape, and was ultimately successful in generating in it such an irresistible force that guided by his dexterous hands, it carried everything before it.

His love and solicitude for the nation was as great as the latter's grateful homage and deep affection for him. His was a magnanimous heart that entertained genuine concern for the welfare of all including the minorities. His clarion call to everyone in authority was to treat the minorities not only with justice but with generosity. He proclaimed in unfaltering words that the minorities will always enjoy in Pakistan equal rights with all others, just as he made it plain that the hammer of the State will fall equally heavily on disloyal heads, Muslim or Non-Muslim.

In the midst of the heart-squeezing grief at his sudden departure the one thought that gives comfort is that it was given to him to see with his own eyes the full success of his mission. He dedicated his life to the nation and he

[Mr. President.]

literally sacrificed it in the nation's cause. In the midst of failing health and ever-weakening months he went on tireless giving his best to strengthen the great edifice he had built knowing full well that he was thereby hastening his own end. Great as he was in life, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah was greater still in his death. May his soul rest in eternal peace and may Providence shower on him His choicest blessings in the eternal abode that is the destiny of us all.

Gentlemen, I now place the Resolution before the House for your acceptance. I hope Honourable Members will kindly signify their assent by rising in their seats.

(All the Honourable Members stood in their seats.)

Mr. President : The House stands adjourned till 3-30 P.M. on the 23rd December, 1948.

The House then adjourned till Thirty Minutes Past Three of the Clock, in the Afternoon of Thursday, the 23rd December, 1948.